LUCKNOW
(THE CAPITAL OF OUDH)

An Illustrated Guide to Places of Interest with History and Map

BY
LIEUT.-COLONEL H. A. NEWELL
Author of "Footprints in Spain", etc.

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BY

Lieut-Colonel H. A. NEWELL

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LIEUT.-COLONEL H. A. NEWELL

Author of "Footprints in Spain"; Guide books to Calcutta;
Bombay; Delhi; Agra, etc.

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INTRODUCTION

Possibly no other city in India is approached by newcomers with such mixed feelings as is Lucknow, the old royal capital of the brief line of Oudh sovereigns. Nor does familiarity ever succeed in entirely obliterating this first impression.

To men and women of the British Isles, Lucknow is pre-eminently a place hallowed by memories at once terrible and heroic. Unbiased by special sentiment of the kind, Westerners in general regard it with curiosity as the scene of a grim struggle, wherein the swords of a few brave men transformed what had threatened irreparable disaster, into a great national triumph.

Whether viewed in the tender light of sentiment, or the clear cold scrutiny of criticism, Lucknow cannot fail but interest and attract. As the centre of modern Mussulman culture in India, it makes special appeal to those whose sympathies are intellectually inclined. The historian will find food for reflection in the city founded by Lakshmana, brother of the semi-divine Rama, King of Ayodhia (Oudh), colonised by followers of the dread Mahmud of Ghazni, converted into a capital under the Moghuls, and finally annexed to the British Empire in 1858. Lovers of splendour will appreciate the palaces, Imambaras, Maqbaras and Masjids built by the prodigal kings of Oudh, while critics can criticise to their hearts' content, strengthened and encouraged by the comfortable conviction that, in so doing, they are treading in the footsteps of such eminent authorities as Fergusson and Burgess.

Apart from historical, intellectual, archæological and architectural considerations, Lucknow has a fourth side. Seen from the last it impresses as a gay and prosperous modern city, rich in handsome shops, schools and public
institutions of every kind. Nevertheless, a turn down one of the narrow, tortuous streets in the Chauk, speedily brings the seeker into the hidden heart of the East, as revealed in the bazar.

In this little guide-book it is not my purpose to criticise, or draw comparisons, but rather to pass in rapid review those famous places, which have figured most prominently in the strange and varied history of the capital of Oudh.

H. A. Newell, Lieut.-Col.,
Indian Army.
(Retired.)
Brussels, Malines and Antwerp

An Illustrated Guide to Places of Interest
with Map and Plans

BY

Lieut.-Col. H. A. NEWELL

"This is a useful and handy little guide, which will tell the English visitor who intends to spend a week in Brussels, one day at Malines and another at Antwerp, all that is necessary to make the visits interesting and instructive. The few pages devoted to Malines are particularly valuable, for the writer has contrived to capture something of the atmosphere of that historic and interesting place."

(The Times Literary Supplement.)
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NEWELL’S

"FOOTPRINTS IN SPAIN"

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LUCKNOW

(The Capital of Oudh)

Distinguished by the picturesque title of «The Garden City,» Lucknow is situated in latitude 26° 52' N., and longitude 81° E. At first sight it appears one of the most beautiful and strikingly Oriental cities in India. Viewed from afar the gilded domes and graceful minars, rising above its many mosques, imambaras, palaces and tombs, convey an impression of fantastic splendour in harmony with preconceived notions of what the capital of an Eastern potentate should be. Closer inspection is somewhat disillusioning. The fairy-like buildings, apparently of marble and gold, dwindle into stucco and brick, across which the gilder has here and there passed his brush. Nevertheless the glittering pinnacles, swelling cupolas, spreading chhattars, flying buttresses and terracotta balustrades are wonderfully bright and effective.

Originally a Hindu stronghold, founded in prehistoric days, the town was known as Lakshmanpur until the advent of the Shaikhs, a Muhammadan colony left behind by the receding army of Mahmud of Ghazni. The newcomers altered the name into Lakhnau, since when Musulman influence has predominated.

The city proper covers a considerable tract of country south of the Gumti. The suburbs extend across the winding river, which is crossed by six bridges in the immediate vicinity of Lucknow. From being a small place of several hundred inhabitants clustered about the site still known as Macchi Bhawan, it has spread over, and absorbed twenty-six villages. Its rapid growth dates from 1775, in which year Asaf-ud-Daula made it the
capital of Oudh in preference to Fyzabad, thitherto the seat of local government.

At that date the Subah, or province of Oudh formed part of the Moghul Empire. It was ruled over by a Subahdardar, or Governor appointed by the Dehli Emperor, and entitled the Nawab-Vazir. The office was not hereditary, but had become so as each succeeding Nawab took advantage of the failing fortunes of the Moghuls to further his own interests and those of his family.

Quick to recognise, and conciliate the rising power of the British, Asaf-ud-Daula deemed it expedient to propitiate the new element in Indian politics. To this end he ceded the districts of Jaunpur and Benares to the Honourable East India Company in exchange for the defence of his realm and an annual payment of £312,000.

Under Asaf-ud-Daula, Lucknow rose to the greatest height of prosperity it has yet known. Bridges, gateways and mosques bear testimony to his restless activity as a builder. The Great Imambara marks the apotheosis of his achievements in this direction and is the crowning architectural glory of his capital. Other notable works executed by him are the Mosque, Rumi Darwaza, or Turkish Gate, Daulat Khana, Char Bagh, Musa Bagh and Bibiapur. Not content with these, the fourth Nawab-Vazir was actually in treaty with General Claude Martin for his Château Constantia, now known as La Martinière, when death put a term to his purchasing powers.

In 1819, Lucknow was promoted to the rank of a royal city, when Lord Hastings transformed the seventh and last Nawab-Vazir, Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, into the first King of Oudh.

Subsequent architectural achievements display a marked falling off in purity and taste. Hybrid styles, inspired by debased European ideals, came into fashion. « By their works shall ye know them » is particularly true of Oriental monarchs, hence it is easy to trace the decadence of the Oudh line by contrasting the buildings erected by Asaf-ud-Daula Nawab, with those of Wajid-Ali-Shah, the last king. The latter was deposed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. During the following year the storm
of Mutiny swept over the royal city, obliterating many monuments of the old order, while writing « Lucknow » in letters of imperishable gold on Britain's Roll of Honour.

After Sir Colin Campbell's victorious entry in March, 1858, the city maintained its independence as a capital of a separate commission until 1877, when the post of Chief Commissioner of Oudh was united with that of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces.

Under British rule many sweeping changes were effected. Formerly bazārs had extended down to the river during the greater portion of its course along the northern boundary of the city. These were cleared away, to be gradually replaced by verdant lawns and flowery parks. Three military roads were cut straight through the heart of the old town from Machhi Bhawan, the Shaikh fort, re-named by Safdar Jang, blown up by order of Sir Henry Lawrence, and rebuilt after the Mutiny. The picturesque cantonment of Mariaon was abandoned and big new barracks, the largest in the United Provinces, built adjoining the south-east corner of the city, from which it is divided by the railway.

Lucknow boasts an excellent train service, being the junction for the two lines from Benares via Fyzabad, and Rae-Bareili, and a splendid railway station. It is the headquarters of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway Volunteers and the Oudh Squadron of Light Horse.

The civil station lies on the east side. One of its most prominent features is Hazratganj, a spacious thoroughfare containing the chief European shops and terminating at the Residence of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Lucknow is a first-class garrison. It is also the headquarters of the High Court, the Inspector-General of Jails and of Civil Hospitals, the Postmaster-General, the Conservator of Forests in the Oudh Circle, the Commissioner, Executive Engineer, Superintendent of Railway Police, and the Inspector of Schools.
ARTS AND CRAFTS

In the days when the Court of Oudh was famed as the most lavish and extravagant in all India, Lucknow was a celebrated centre for rich fabrics, gold and silver embroidery and costly jewellery. A speciality was made of exquisitely chased vessels in a mixture of gold and silver, which commanded high prices. With the departure of the kings, the sumptuary arts languished. Those nobles, who still reside in the city, are mostly pensioners.

Although their tastes may incline towards the golden sarais, and other splendid objects in common use among their grand-parents, sub-division has reduced their incomes to an extent, which does not admit of such indulgence. None the less, Lucknow continues to produce much that is lovely. For instance, nothing could exceed the beauty and excellence of the fine needlework on sale at pathetically low prices. This rare and dainty embroidery is chiefly done by women and children of the nobility, who are glad to supplement their vanishing incomes. All day long, while the light lasts, fair descendants of courtiers, and of the pampered beauties of the Royal Harem, ply their needles in and out of flimsy silk and muslin, their slender fingers never once pausing, nor their large dark eyes looking up from the task. After nightfall, highly-born ladies, screened from prying gaze by the all-concealing purdah, steal from the shadows of once lordly mansions, and make their way to the bazar to drive a bargain, as best they may, with the agents lying in wait to pick up dainty collars, handkerchiefs, and such like. These are easily distinguished from the chikan work found in other parts of India by reason of the curious raised manner in which they are embroidered, and which is peculiar to Lucknow.

The potter's art is another speciality of the once royal city. From the tenacious clay, lining the bottom of the tanks, clever brown hands model coloured figures of the various races and costumes typical of Oudh. The little
Statues are wonderfully true to life and faithfully reproduce the most minute detail of dress, or ornament. Fruit and vegetables are equally skilfully contrived, and deceive the most astute, while clock cases, vases and wall brackets are further products of the potter's wheel.

An important industry is the manufacture of cotton fabrics, which vary from the coarsest of calico to the finest and most cobwebby of Indian muslins. Richly coloured Lucknow prints are highly esteemed throughout the country owing to the purity of their tints, and their lasting quality, virtues for which the credit is awarded the waters of the Kukrail and Baita Rivers, long famed for producing deep toned and durable dyes.

Lucknow is essentially a Muhammadan city, hence its reputation for a texture of blended silk and cotton much in request among followers of Islam, to whom the wearing of pure silk is prohibited on religious grounds. Gold and silver brocades and laces constitute a famous industry, likewise costly and magnificent gold embroidered velvets for state umbrellas, canopies, hangings and palls for royal tombs, horse and elephant trappings, and other ceremonial uses.

The wire workers of Lucknow are noted for the extreme tenuity to which they can draw out their gold and silver thread. This they work up into round wire, flatten into braid, or cut up into spangles. Despite their remarkable skill, these kalabutum and lace makers are paid very low wages.

Beautiful embroidered caps and slippers, resplendent with gold, seed pearls and coloured silks, are yet another speciality of Lucknow. In the time of the Oudh kings this industry ranked high on account of a royal edict, forbidding shoemakers to use any but the purest gold thread. The result was that Lucknow slippers were in demand all over Hindustan. Curiously enough shoes have always been held in respect in India. The Ramayana describes how Prince Bharata piously removed his brother Rama's «gold embroidered slippers», in order that he might bear them back to Ayodhia and place them before the vacant throne until such time as Rama, his
exile ended, should return and claim it. Bharata and Rama were brothers of Lakshmana, founder of Lucknow. This is not the only part that slippers have played in Indian history. Their use, as instruments of chastisement, was a time-honoured institution among both Muhammadans and Parsis, with whom it was customary to correct minor offenders by means of a severe slippering.

No mention of the arts and crafts of Lucknow would be complete without allusion to the very extensive trade carried on in brass and copper vessels, notably those cooking, and other utensils in daily use among Indian families. For all ordinary domestic purposes Muhammadans employ copper vessels, while Hindus confine themselves to brass. Among the wealthy classes drinking cups are usually of silver.

An art revival of late years is that of Bidri, or damascening in gold, or silver on base metal. This was first introduced from Persia by the Mussulmans. It borrows its Indian name of Bidri from Bider, in the Nizam’s dominions, where it is produced in considerable quantities.
ITINERARY

FIRST DAY—FORENOON

Drive to Machhi Bhawan. Visit the Great Imambara. Proceed to Husainabad. See the Clock Tower, Tank, Baradari, Sat Khanda, Daulat Khana, Husainabad Imambara, Jama Masjid, and Musa Bagh.

MACHHI BHAWAN

The Great Imambara stands within the area still known as the Machhi Bhawan, although the fort, the name of which it perpetuates, has been entirely demolished. A white mosque, erected by Aurangzib Shah, marks the oldest site in Lucknow, an elevated piece of ground near the river, north of the Machhi Bhawan. Tradition points to this mound as the Lackman Tila, a prehistoric stronghold erected by Lakshmana, brother to Rama, King of Ayodhia. It is from this mythical mound that the city derived its Hindu name of Lakshmanpur, legend further ascribing to it the peculiar merit of resting immediately above the head of the Great Sheshnag, the divine serpent whose coils support the earth.

Soon after Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India, a settlement of Shaikhs and Pathans established themselves in the vicinity of Lackman Tila, until then occupied exclusively by Brahmins. A memento of these early Mussulman colonists is the piously preserved tomb of Shaikh Mina, a Muhammadan saint born at Lucknow A.D. 1470 and educated by the noted Dervish Quiran-ud-Din. The shrine is situated within the confines of Machhi Bhawan and is the oldest epigraphic monument in the city. It is a favourite resort with devotees, particularly those rendered anxious by impending litigation, who proceed thither to invoke the aid of the saint.
No sooner had the Shaikhs and Pathans decided to make their home at Lukshmanpur, than they changed its name to Lakhnau, and proceeded to build a fort, which they called Likhna Kila after the architect, a Hindu know as Likhna.

Safdar Jang renamed and strengthened the old Shaikh fort, calling it Machhi Bhawan, or Fish House, after the fish, which an imperial edict had allowed him to assume as his badge, and which now figures on most of the many public buildings erected by his descendants.

Asaf-ud-Daula, fourth and greatest of the Nawabs, built a palace within the citadel which, in his time, was famous for its strength, and was characterised by round earthen bastions. The palace faced the Gumti, and was entered by two splendid gateways. Beyond stretched six courts laid out in gardens, fountains, wells, and water channels, dotted, here and there, with pavilions, and enclosed by colonnades, the whole beautified by the domes, kiosks and minars, which have made Moslem architecture the glory of India.

High battlements gave the fort a feudal aspect. Strong fortifications commanded the stone and iron bridges across the river. The dominant position enjoyed by Machhi Bhawan may be judged from the fact that the town stretched south and west below its walls, while the Residency lay to east, within easy reach of its guns.

Early in 1857 signs of the coming storm warned Sir Henry Lawrence, the officer commanding the British forces in Lucknow, to make ready his defences. Accordingly he decided to hold Machhi Bhawan in addition to fortifying the Residency. Stress of circumstances lead him to concentrate upon the latter position and abandon Machhi Bhawan, which was blown up, by his orders, on July 2nd, 1857. After the re-investment of the city by Sir Colin Campbell, in 1858, Machhi Bhawan was rebuilt and strongly fortified, only to be demolished by imperial edict, when Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India at Delhi. In conformity with the royal wish, the Great Imambara and Mosque were handed over to the
Mosque of Great Imambara.
Muhammadan community, a concession which was carried out in 1883.

The Medical College now occupies part of the site once covered by the old stronghold. In its prime the fort stretched eight hundred yards along the road, and five hundred yards to the south, while the north-west portion reached almost to the river above the Stone Bridge.

THE GREAT IMAMBARA

The Rumi Darwarza, Great Imambara and adjacent Masjid, together with the neighbouring buildings of Husainabad, form an architectural group which, in point of size and picturesque splendour, has been pronounced one of the most imposing in India. The three first were the work of Asaf-ud-Daula, who started them to afford relief to the starving populace in the terrible famine of 1784. The Nawab is said to have expended a score of rupees, otherwise one million pounds sterling, upon the Great Imambara alone. He and the architect, Kifayat Ullah, lie buried therein.

The approach is by way of an imposing gate of square design surmounted by an octagonal pavilion, kiosk-crowned, the entire façade pierced by innumerable arched window openings of graduated size. Further ornamentation takes the form of minars and serried rows of diminutive stone cupolas. Entrance is through three doorways in the base. Beyond, lies a grass planted quadrangle at the further end of which nineteen steps lead up to a second portal, similar in design and decoration to the first. Three beautiful pierced iron doors lead beneath armorial bearings to an upper grass-planted terrace bordered by a double-storeyed line of narrow cell-like cloisters on its eastern side. These conceal a curious well, sunk in an open octagonal tower. Steps run down to the water’s edge, while above rise four tiers of galleries.

The Great Imambara stands on a high flagged platform approached by eighteen steps. It is a wide single-storeyed building, the façade pierced by eight large and
elegantly shaped openings of the kind commonly known as French windows. An elaborate parapet protects the roof, the flatness of which is relieved by a particularly happy arrangement of big domes and small minarets. On near approach the Great Imambara conveys a curious impression, at once solemn and bright.

Nothing distinguishes the central entrance. It is in every respect identical with its seven companion openings, that stretch along the entire front with decorative effect.

The hall is reputed the largest vaulted apartment in the world, measuring 162 feet in length by 53 feet 6 inches in width. Two verandahs run parallel to it. One is 27 feet 3 inches wide and the other 26 feet 6 inches, making the total interior dimensions amount to 263 feet by 143 feet.

Built upon very deep foundations, the Great Imambara is as solid as it is graceful. No wood is used anywhere in its construction, which is of extreme simplicity. The entire edifice is covered with vaults of very plain form and make, being of rubble, or coarse concrete, several feet thick. The method employed by the masons consisted in placing the mixture on a mould, or centering of brick and mud, and leaving it for a year, or more. When set and dry the centering was removed. The vaults thus formed in one piece required neither abutment nor thrust.

The interior splendours of the Great Imambara have greatly diminished since the days when Bishop Heber described their many wonders and costly magnificence. Now blue walls, relieved with white stucco, characterise the outer corridor, which is further distinguished by no less than one hundred and thirty glittering crystal chandeliers. The long central hall contains the tomb of Asaf-ud-Daula, enclosed by a silver railing, and spread over with a handsome velvet pall. Near by rests the Nawab's turban of honour, a species of silver crown surmounted by an aigrette and clasp of immense diamonds and emeralds. Slightly in the background seven steps lead up to a plain black wooden pulpit, that stands on a small platform in the full radiance of a hundred and fifty large
glass chandeliers. Behind, on the raised floor of the back gallery, divided off by arches, rests a sandal-wood representation of Muhammad’s tomb at Medina. Other arcaded recesses enshrine handsome silver Tazzias depicting the far-famed mausoleum at Kerbela, sacred to the martyrs Hassan and Hussain. Literally interpreted, Tazzia signifies grief, and is the term applied to all models of the kind.

A narrow wooden gallery runs round the upper part of the central chamber containing Asaf-ud-Daula’s tomb. This is reserved for ladies, as is a high passage-like enclosure, provided with screened window-openings and protected by a low railing, whence the Begam log could see, without being seen.

By devious ways, intricate as a Chinese puzzle, steep flights of seemingly endless steps, and dark tortuous corridors, lead upwards to the sunlight of the roof. A fine panorama greets the eye at all points of the compass. In the west, the white and gold domes and minars of Husainabad sparkle gaily under the vast blue sky. Eastwards the familiar red, white and blue flag flutters from the war-worn grey tower of the Residency. The gaze rests for an instant on the encircling green, then travels to the bright cupolas of Chhattar Manzil, the Umhrella Palaces, and back to the stately domes and minars of Asaf-ud-Daula’s mosque in the quadrangle immediately below.

**MOHARRAM**

The usual daily routine of the Great Imambaras is that of any well-ordered museum, or historical show-place. Once a year, however, it awakens from this official lethargy. All its myriad crystal chandeliers burst into sudden flame, and tomb and Tazzias assume still further splendours in honour of Moharram.

Literally interpreted, Moharram means Most Sacred, and applies to a period of mourning observed by the Shias, the second of the two great sects into which the faith of Islam is divided. Proceedings open with a ten
day's fast known as Ashraf. The last day is the most important, as on it the fast closes with a representation of the martyrdom of Hussain on the plain of Kerbela, in Turkish Arabia.

Moharram, like Easter, is a movable feast. It is held at the beginning of the Muhammadan year which, being lunar, varies according to the moon, and continues for forty days. During this time a passion play is enacted, depicting the tragic deaths of the three Imams, Ali, Hassan and Hussain. The drama is presented in specially constructed buildings known as Imambaras. In common with mosques, these sacred theatres usually consist of a square building surmounted by domes and minars. The difference lies in the interior, which, in the case of a masjid, is invariably plain to bareness, while the internal decorations of an imambara are frequently of a most sumptuous description. The explanation of this lies in the Muhammadan belief that a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Almighty God should contain no ornament, whereby the attention might be distracted from spiritual to material things. Naturally this rule does not hold good in the case of an imambara. It being a building dedicated to the memory of the Imams, their followers lovingly decorate it in their honour.

On the sixth night of the new moon Europeans are admitted to the Great Imambara. The entire building is brilliantly illuminated, and the grand tragedy is reverently, and realistically portrayed by a large company of men and boys.

« Out of the sombre shadows,
   Over the gleaming grass,
   Slow, in a sad procession,
     The shadowy pageants pass;
Mournful, majestic, and solemn,
   Stricken and pale and dumb,
Crowned in their matchless sorrow,
     The sacred martyrs come . .
Hark! thro' the brooding silence
   Breaks the wild cry of pain,
   Wrung from the heart of the ages,
Ali! Hassan! Hussain!
Mosque of Aurangzib

Capt. F. Achard.
Come from the tomb of shadows,
    Come from the tragic shrine
That thrills with the deathless anguish
    Of a long dead martyr line.
Love! let the living sunlight
    Hallow your splendid eyes
Ashine with the steadfast triumph
    Of the spirit that never dies.
So may the hope of new ages
    Comfort the ancient pain
    That cries from the deep dark silence
Ali! Hassan! Hussain!

The Lucknow Imambara, by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
and the Editor of The Asiatic Quarterly Review.

RUMI DARWAZA

Situated outside the north-west corner of the Great
Imambara, this splendid portico has its effect enhanced,
rather than marred, by the somewhat isolated position in
which it stands. The design merely consists of a vast
dome cut down perpendicularly, but the original con-
ception is so overlaid, and concealed, beneath a wealth
of carving and elaboration of sculptured detail, that it is
lost sight of, if not entirely missed.

The gate is traversed by means of a comparatively
small doorway in the base, above which the arch attains
a height of nearly sixty feet. A tradition exists that the
Rumi Darwaza, or Turkish Gate, is a facsimile of the
Sublime Porte from which the Turkish capital derives
that title. The claim has, however, been repeatedly
denied by travellers, who declare that no such gateway
now exists in Constantinople, whatever may have been
there prior to its conquest by Muhammad II., on May 29th,
1453 A.D.

HUSAINABAD CLOCK TOWER

A short wide road runs straight from Rumi Darwaza
to the triple white gate leading into Husainabad, two
large walled enclosures at right angles of one another. On the way there a path branches off northwards to a well-known Hindu bathing ghat. Further on lies Husainabad Park, the most conspicuous feature of which is the clock tower, a handsome modern erection of Moorish design, 221 feet high and 20 feet square. It was built in 1881, at a cost of Rs. 117,000. The funds were supplied by the Trustees of the Husainabad Endowment, from the income yielded by the legacy of thirty-six lakhs of rupees bequeathed by Muhammad Ali Shah, third King of Oudh, for the upkeep of his Imambara and dependent charities. The great clock in the tower is the largest in India, and is illuminated by a particularly ingenious arrangement of lamps. It has a sweetly pealing chime of five bells.

HUSAINABAD TANK

Due west of the clock tower stretches a beautiful cruciform tank surrounded by steps, which lead down to the water's edge. In common with most of the buildings associated with Husainabad, it was made by Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-1842). It is reputed to have been originally connected with the river. Cool and green, its placid waters are well stocked with fish, and add much to the charm of the lovely garden, whose beauties it reflects with mirror-like fidelity.

BARADARI, OR TALUQDARS' HALL

The Baradari stands on the northern bank of the Tank and is a handsome brick building enclosed by wide verandahs, to east and south, characterised by ornamental iron pillars in a harmonising shade of terra-cotta. The interior is hung with portraits of the Nawabs and Kings of Oudh, and is used as an assembly room by the Taluqdaris, or Nobility of Lucknow.

SAT KHANDA

Still further west rises a picturesque, but unfinished structure, known as the Sat Khanda, or Seven Storeyed
Tower. The misnomer is explained by the statement that its builder, Muhammad Ali Shah, commenced it, and the Imambara simultaneously, intending it to serve as a watch tower, from which to survey the growing splendours in course of construction. The King, however, died before more than four of the seven storeys were completed hence, in calling the tower Sat Khanda, the will is taken for the deed.

DAULAT KHANA

Built by Asaf-ud-Daula Nawab-Vazir (1775-1797), the enclosure known as Daulat Khana lies north of the Clock Tower, and is entered through a gate to right of the Baradari. The settlement comprises a group of large houses, the original dwellings of Asaf-ud-Daula and his nobles, when the Nawab transferred his Court from Fyzabad to Lucknow. Asfi Kothi was the royal residence and still perpetuates the Nawab’s name.

Literally interpreted, Daulat Khana signifies « Nobleman’s Mansion ».

HUSAINABAD IMAMBARA

The approach to the Imambara lies through a picturesque bazaar known as the Gelo Khana, or Decorated Place. Here choice Lucknow embroideries, bidri work, clay figures and other specialities of the Oudh capital are eagerly offered for inspection.

Facing the principal entrance to the Imambara, on the opposite side of the bazaar, is a dummy gate of similar size and design, known as the Naubat Khana, where music is played three times a day in honour of the dead, namely before sunrise and noon, and directly after sunset. Three musicians are stationed in the upper balcony and four below. Their pay is Rs.6 a head per mensem.

Guarding the gates are curious statues of women, very like the figure-heads attached to old ships. In each case the body and hoofs of a horse are substituted for the lower half of the « human form divine ».
A large white gateway admits to a flagged courtyard, bright with grass-planted squares and flower-decked borders. A raised tank runs down the centre, crossed by a decorative iron bridge, while to right and left of the portico stand pedestals supporting two big bronze statues, quasi-classical in design, of a male and female, each figure chained to the upper part of the gate.

At either side of the quadrangle rises a white domed mausoleum, partially screened from view by clustering shrubs, tall dark cypress trees and a wealth of flowers. That to the west is the Kothi of Zenab Asiya, daughter of Muhammad Ali Shah, and professes to be modelled on the lines of the peerless Taj Mahal at Agra. To those, who have never seen the latter, the tomb of the Oudh princess will doubtless appeal as curious and beautiful, with its snowy minars standing sentinel at the four corners, and its white cupolas, surmounted by golden crowns, from which emblems of royal rank gilded spires shoot upwards to the blue sky. Close by is a small masjid reserved for the descendants of the Oudh kings, where prayers are said daily at sunset for the illustrious dead.

The Mausoleum, on the opposite side of the garden, is sacred to the memory of Zenab Asiya’s husband. He, however, died at a distance, so that only relics are preserved there. The twin kothis are identical in design and are alike sheltered by encircling trees and shrubs. At the southern extremity of the court, a raised terrace supports the Imambara built by Muhammad Ali Shah. Both the King and his mother lie buried therein. Nothing could be less suggestive of a tomb than the fragile-looking palace of glistening white, crowned by a golden dome, its soaring spire holding a glittering crescent and star up to the blue vault of Heaven.

The interior is bright with much gilding, many mirrors and myriad multi-coloured crystal chandeliers, all of which are lighted on the anniversary of Muhammad Ali’s death. The King’s tomb lies to the west, and that of his mother, to east, of the marble floor. Both are enclosed by massive silver railings flanked by tall glass candelabra, which cost Rs. 12,000 a pair. Other treasures consist
of the King's throne of embossed silver, and the Queen's divan resting on solid silver supports; a wax Tazzia, another of silver, and two ancient copies of the Koran brought from Mecca. The sacred script is gorgeously illuminated and religiously kept in splendid wrappings of gold brocade.

In the days when Lucknow was a royal city, the Husainabad Imambara was thronged throughout the Moharram. It is still lavishly illuminated at this season. European visitors are admitted on the sixth night of the new moon. Muhammad Ali Shah left a fortune of thirty-six lakhs of rupees for the proper upkeep of his Imambara.

JAMA MASJID

Begun by Muhammad Ali Shah, the Jama Masjid was intended to eclipse Asaf-ud-Daula's Mosque, and even to rival Shah Jahan's Great Mosque in Delhi. Death put an end to the King's ambitious purpose and it remained for one of his female descendants, Begam Malka Jahan, to finish the work. As it stands the Jama Masjid is accounted by many the most satisfactory specimen of pure Moslem architecture in Lucknow. It occupies a somewhat isolated position surrounded by trees and grass. Like all buildings of the kind it is square, and owes much to the height of the terrace on which it stands. Minars flank the beautifully sculptured façade, the chief glory of which is an unusually high doorway soaring above the flat roof in a sharply pointed arch, dominated, but by no means dwarfed, by three domes, that rise in the immediate background.

The term Masjid is Arabic and signifies « House of Prayer », while Mosque is derived from the Italian « Moschea ».

The first Masjid ever erected was at Medina and was the work of Muhammad himself. Primitive though it was, the Prophet's House of Prayer has served as model for all subsequent editions. The original plan has been faithfully adhered to, although improvements, and exterior decorations have been added from time to time. The result is that, after a lapse of nearly fifteen centuries,
it requires but a glance to distinguish a temple of Islam from that of any other denomination by reason of its square shape, crowning dome and two, or more minars. Curiously enough these last, highly decorative though they are, were introduced for use, rather than ornament. Unlike other churches, which summon worshippers by ringing bells, Muhammadans depend upon the human voice. At the appointed hour an official, known as a Muezzin, mounts one of the minars and calls aloud, « God is great! God is great! God is great! I bear witness there is no God but God! I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God. Come to prayers! Come to salvation! God is great! Prayers are better than sleep! »

On entering the courtyard of a mosque, visitors are required to remove their shoes before advancing on to holy ground. Moslems carry them sole to sole in the left hand, and are careful to put the right foot first when crossing the threshold. Plain clothing is worn in further token of humility.

The interior of a Masjid is plain to bareness. No picture of any kind relieves the walls, which, at best, only display a few texts from the Koran. Light is admitted through a large central door, windows being the exception, not the rule. The floor is of stone, or marble marked off into small spaces, each just large enough for one worshipper. There are no seats of any kind. The pulpit consists of a few wooden steps, on which the Imam takes his stand near a niche in the central wall facing the entrance. The niche indicates the direction in which lies Mecca, the Kiblah, or spot towards which all followers of the Prophet must turn when praying.

In the early days of his propaganda, Muhammad instructed his followers to honour Jerusalem as their Kiblah. He subsequently reversed this decision in favour of Mecca, the old sacred city of the Arabs founded by their forefather Ishmael.

**MUSA BAGH**

By a curious coincidence the opening and closing scenes of the Lucknow mutiny were enacted at Musa
Bagh. It was here that the Oudh Irregular Infantry broke into open revolt on May 3rd, 1857. Similarly it was the last position held in force by the rebels.

Should time allow, the place deserves a visit on account of its historical interest, and because of the unusually fine brick walls which surround it.

Musa Bagh lies rather more than two miles north-west of Husainabad, and was originally laid out as a garden by Asaf-ud-Daula. The house was added by his half-brother, Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814) from designs furnished by General Claude Martin, who modelled it on the lines of an English manor. From this, his favourite country seat, the Nawab delighted to watch the famous wild beast fights, so popular with the Vazirs and Kings of Oudh. The place is now in ruins, having been stormed by General Outram on March 19th, 1858. Captain S. T. Wales lies buried in the garden, having fallen in action while leading the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry in pursuit of the enemy.

AFTERNOON

Visit the Residency, Farhat Baksh Palace, Chhattar Manzil Palaces, Lal Baradari, Qaisara Bagh, Museum, Maqbara of Saadat Ali Khan, the Moti Mahal and Kurshaad Manzil.

THE RESIDENCY

In the entrance hall of the Residency a marble tablet contains the following brief, but graphic appreciation of the part played by the little garrison, which, in spite of desperate odds, kept their flag flying during the black days of mutiny.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Canning, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, expressed his admiration of the defence of the Residency in the following words: « There does not stand recorded in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the Residency of Lucknow. On June 30th, 1857 A.D., the day after the battle of Chinhat, the siege
began. On the 2nd July Sir Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded by a shell, which burst within the Residency building. The Command then devolved up on Brigadier J. E. Inglis, H.M.’s 33rd Regiment.

« The force within the defences consisted of 130 officers, British and Native, 740 British and 700 Native troops and 150 civilian volunteers. There were 237 women, 260 children, 50 boys of La Martinière College, 27 non-combatant Europeans and 700 non-combatant natives, being a total of 2,994 souls.

« From the 30th June to the 25th September, for eighty-six days, they were closely invested, subjected to a heavy artillery fire, day and night, on all sides, and had to sustain several general attacks on the position.

« On the 25th September, 1857 A.D., Generals Outram and Havelock, with a large force, endeavoured to release the garrison, after having, with great loss, effected a junction with them. They were, however, unable to withdraw, and the whole combined force was besieged for a period of fifty-three days, until finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell on the 17th November, 1857 A.D.

« There remained of the original garrison, when relieved on the 25th September, a total of 979 souls, including sick and wounded, of whom 577 were European and 402 Natives. »

Built in 1800, by Saadat Ali Khan, 6th Nawab, for the British Resident at his Court, the Residency originally consisted of a large, and very handsome brick mansion characterised by wide verandahs, lofty rooms and an imposing portico. An important feature, as events afterwards proved, was the Taikhana, or suite of underground apartments for use in the hot weather. During the sad summer of 1857 the Taikhana afforded shelter to the women and children of the besieged garrison.

Converted by circumstances and usage into a comprehensive term, the name Residency is now applied to the entire enclosure hastily fortified by Sir Henry Lawrence. The scene of one of the most thrilling episodes in British history is counted hallowed ground, and reverently tended as such. Name-stones mark the sites of the various
Mosque near Residency.
Capt. F. Achard.
posts, important buildings, and entrenchments, amid which Sir Henry Lawrence distributed his small force. Thanks to these it is possible to follow the operations, and in some degree realise what appearance the compound presented in the summer of 1857.

Seen now in the mellow light of afternoon, the Residency presents a curiously peaceful aspect. Green lawns cover ancient scars, and protecting trees cast a kindly shade over ruined army-posts and shattered walls. Faithful and brave, the old grey tower still flies the dear familiar flag, by night and day, from the rising ground once graced by the stately pile built by Saadat Ali Khan for the British Resident at the Court of Oudh. A riot of bourgainvillier spreads a purple pall over the war-worn stones, and clustering yellow roses offer up their perfumed incense to the deathless memory of the brave.

Riddled by shot and shell, the battered Baillie Guard Gate into the enclosure still stands. During the siege it was banked up with earth from inside, three field pieces still further protecting the steep ascent to the Residency proper. When, on September 25th, 1857, Generals Havelock and Outram arrived with the first relief, they were admitted through the embrasure of Aitken’s Battery a few yards to the right.

Immediately inside, to the right of the road, stands the Treasury, converted by the exigencies of the situation into an arsenal for the manufacture of Enfield cartridges. Still more to the north-west is the Banqueting Hall, a large double-storeyed building, now open to the sky and overgrown with creepers, but once sumptuously fitted up, and arranged in a series of arched reception rooms for the use of the British Resident. At the beginning of hostilities it was converted into a hospital, while an apartment, on the north side, served as state prison for Mustafa Ali Khan, elder brother to the deposed King of Oudh, and other princes, two of whom were related to the Delhi Emperor.

On the opposite side of the road are the remains of a square mansion approached by steps, known as Doctor Fayrer's House. A tablet on the wall of an inner room
marks where Sir Henry Lawrence succumbed to his wounds on July 4th, 1857, four days after the siege commenced. Later on, this same room was occupied by General Outram. Beneath, in the Taikhana, many ladies and children languished underground for five weary months, until Sir Colin Campbell arrived with orders for the garrison to evacuate.

Beyond Doctor Fayrer's House, to north-west, rise the two tall minarets and three domes of a dismantled mosque built on the roof of a large square mansion named Begam Kothi. Steps, on the outside, lead up to the sanctuary, once part of the dwelling of Mrs. Walters and her elder daughter. The latter was known as Begam Ashraf-ul-Nisa, the younger Miss Walters having married King Nasir-ud Din Haidar (1827-1837) under the title of Mukhaddar-i-Ulaiya.

South-east of Begam Kothi, a pillar marks the site of the Post Office. Here the Royal Engineers and Artillery made their headquarters. It was defended by three field pieces, supplemented by an equal number of mortars, served by a detachment of the 32nd Regiment.

The remains of walls, some four feet high, show where Germon's Post was situated, fully exposed to the enemy's fire in a south-easterly angle of the Residency enclosure. It was commanded by Captain Germon of the 13th Native Infantry, whose Sikhs were supported by Uncovenanted Civilians.

Hard by is Sago's House, so called after its original occupant, Mrs. Sago, a schoolmistress. The place was garrisoned by the 32nd Regiment, and was the object of repeated attack, its position rendering it particularly vulnerable. The ruins of a building to south-west commemorate one of the most dangerous outworks. This was Anderson's Garrison. The enemy continued within forty yards of it throughout the siege, keeping up an incessant fire both by night and day. Another perilous post was the Cawnpore Battery to west. This mounted three field pieces and commanded a wide area, including two important roads.

Not very far to the north-west a few scattered ruins
mark Martinière Post, where the boys of La Martinière College were quartered in a one-storeyed house, once the property of an Indian Banker, Sah Behari Lal. The fifty boys and their masters took part in the defence with a detachment of the 32nd Regiment. A constant and gall- ing fire was poured in on them from Johannes’ house and shop. The sites of these last are indicated by pillars outside the Residency enclosure, here fenced round with wire. When hostilities first broke out, Johannes was the wealthiest European merchant in Lucknow. With others he was compelled to abandon much of his property and seek refuge within the British lines. His house served as the point of vantage from which an African soldier, formerly in the employ of the King of Oudh, took deadly aim. The fellow was nicknamed « Bob the Nailer » by our men, from the fact that every shot of his took effect and literally nailed a man.

West of Martinière Post are extensive ruins known as the Brigade Mess of King’s Hospital, where a number of officers were quartered, and where a small room, some ten feet square, was allotted to Lady Cowper, wife of Sir Henry Lawrence’s secretary.

A ruined archway leads to further remains marked « Inglis’ Quarters ». Not far away a big Shisham tree casts its protecting shade over the place once occupied by Mr. Gubbin’s house. This official was financial secretary of Oudh, and his book on the Siege of Lucknow is one of the clearest and most interesting.

North of Gubbin’s house is a pillar inscribed « Slaughter House Post », within easy distance of a second, marked « Sheep House ».

As is only fitting the Residency proper occupies the most commanding site in the enclosure, its grey tower and flag at once attracting attention. Entered through a large portico on the west, the ground floor contains a very excellent plaster model, by the Rev. T. Moore, of the entire position as it was at the time of the siege. Below is the famous Taikhana. A flight of dark stone stairs leads down to the underground apartments, into which several hundred women and children were crowded, to
languish and die in the fetid poisoned air, amid swarms of flies, under the indescribable conditions which prevailed during the summer of 1857.

North of the Residency is the cemetery. Nothing remains of the handsome Gothic Church built in 1810 but the fragments of walls. Many pathetic monuments record the last resting place of groups of men, women and children, the victims of shot and pestilence, who were hurriedly buried by their comrades under cover of night. Particular interest attaches to a railed-off enclosure containing three graduated slabs. The topmost is of white marble and bears the simple message:

« Here lies Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty.  
May the Lord have mercy on his soul.  
Born 28th June, 1806.  Died July 4th, 1857. »

Daily, at 6 a.m., a wreath of white flowers is laid upon the grave. A little to the south lies the tomb of Brigadier-General Neill, killed on September 25th, 1857, by a shot fired by a sepoy from the Sher Darwaza, now known as Neills' Gate, a low red gateway surmounted by two small lions, situated near the Qaisara Bagh Palace.

MONUMENTS

West of the Residency building a grass-grown mound supports a tall granite monument approached by three steps and surmounted by a cross. On its eastern and western faces it bears a carved elephant below a stag's head. The inscription runs:

« Sacred to the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the 78th Highland Regiment, who fell in the suppression of the mutiny of the native army in India in the years 1857 and 1858. This monument is erected as a tribute by their surviving brother officers and comrades, and by many officers who formerly belonged to the regiment. »

To north and south are ranged gun carriages mounting big cannon inscribed « Shannon ». These took no part in the defence, but did good work in the final assault of 1858, when the Naval Brigade, commanded by
View from tower of La Martinière looking north-west.
Tymphana near Old Residency.
Sir William Peel, captured Shah Najaf and La Martinière, both stubbornly defended positions. Near by, on a low creeper-covered ruin, stand a quantity of small cannon used by the besieging army, while the piles of old ball, massed on the ground beneath, were found in 1909 buried in Lal Bagh.

South of the Taikhana rises a high granite column crowned by a Maltese cross. On it are the words:

« To the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., and the brave men who fell in defence of the Residency. A.D. 1857. »

Close by is yet another tall pillar. This was erected, to their fallen comrades, by the Duke of Cornwall’s Light Infantry, from stone quarried in Cornwall. The unveiling ceremony was performed by Lady Inglis, widow of the late Colonel of the Regiment. The inscription reads:

« Sacred to the memory of Major General Sir John Inglis, K.C.B., Colonel, Her Majesty’s 32nd Regiment, who, with a handful of devoted men, defended the Residency of Lucknow for eighty-seven days from the 3rd July, 1857, to the 27th September, against an overwhelming force of the enemy. »

In front of the Baillie Guard Gate a memorial honours the memory of those gallant Indian soldiers who took part in the defence. The foundation stone was laid by the King Emperor Edward VII, when, as Prince of Wales, he visited Lucknow in 1876.

**FARHAT BAKSH PALACE**

Built by General Claude Martin, who died in it, the Farhat Baksh, or Delight-Giving Palace, was afterwards sold to Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814) for Rs. 50,000. The Nawab immediately set about transforming it into a palace, which, from then on, constituted the royal residence of the Kings of Oudh. Other palaces for the queens, their children, and different members of the ruling house, sprang up all around. The palatial group was set amidst lovely gardens, and ringed round with high walls of considerable strength.
At the present time Farhat Baksh is used as a library by the United Service Club.

THE CHHATTAR MANZIL PALACES

Known as the Greater and Lesser Chhattar Manzil, or Umbrella Palaces, these two handsome buildings owe their name to the curiously shaped gilt domes by which they are surmounted. Commenced by Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, and completed by his son, King Nasir-ud-Din Haidar, both palaces were specially designed for the Birooni, or ladies' apartments. The larger of the two is a three-storeyed building crowned by triple gilt umbrellas. Below is an ample Taikhana to which the Harem repaired in hot weather.

A glance at the exterior suffices to show that the architect, responsible for the design, sought to reconcile late eighteenth-century French influence with Muhammadan tastes and prejudices, the effect being that of a French château to which, in a fit of mental aberration, the masons added the cupolas and kiosks intended for an Oriental palace. It is now used as the United Service Club.

The Lesser Chhattar Manzil is two-storeyed and is likewise shaded by three gilt umbrellas. It is distinctly Eastern in conception and stands between two handsome buildings, known respectively as Gulistan-i-Eram (Heavenly Garden) and Darshanbilas (Pleasing to the Sight). The last named is also spoken of as Chaurukhi, from a unique fantasy of the architect that led him to model each of its four sides after the façades of four famous public buildings in Lucknow.

A sinister report is current regarding Gulistan-i-Eram, to the effect that King Nasir-ud-Din Haidar met his death in its underground apartments at the hand of a woman, who is said to have given him poison in a glass of sharbat.

LAL BARADARI

Once the Throne Room of the kings of Oudh, the Lal Baradari is, as its name implies, a red building. Large
and flat-roofed, it stands facing the Ladies' Club on the opposite side of the road to Chhattar Manzil. It is now used as a library. Erected by Saadat Ali Khan as a Darbar Hall for state receptions, it was where coronations took place. In this connection it was the scene of a particularly dramatic incident in the history of Lucknow.

When Nasir-ud-Din died in the adjacent Gulistan-i-Eram, poisoned, it was said, at the instigation of his ministers, his adopted mother, the Badsah Begam, made a bold bid for the Masnad on behalf of her illegitimate son, Munna Jan. To this end she seized Colonel Low, the British Resident, and forced him to attend at a coronation ceremony in the Lal Baradari. She further tried to compel him to make the customary Nazar, or offering to Munna Jan, wherewith the British Government was in the habit of recognising the right of a new heir to the throne. Colonel Low's refusal came perilously near to costing him his life. In the end Munna Jan's spurious title was set aside and Muhammad Ali Shah, uncle of the deceased sovereign, confirmed in the succession. The term Baradari literally means a building characterised by twelve doors. It is also applied to an open pavilion.

QAI\textsc{SARA} (KA\textsc{ISER}) BAGH

Built by Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1858), the group of buildings included in the general term Qaisara Bagh, or Emperor's Garden, was intended to eclipse anything of the kind attempted by his predecessors. Imbued with this ambition, the last King of Oudh erected a pile of such dimensions, that it was reputed to cover more ground than the Tuileries and Louvre together, and cost over eighty lakhs of rupees. Unfortunately, quantity seems to have been studied rather than quality—the result being disastrous from architectural standards. On the outbreak of the Mutiny a vast amount of treasure was removed from here to the Residency, where a considerable portion of it was lost.

Now, the Qaisara Bagh has mostly disappeared, but the
name is still applied to a large quadrangle behind the Lal Baradari, chiefly conspicuous for a handsome stone pavilion. The yellow buildings, enclosing the great court to south and east, have been assigned to the Taluq-dars, or landed nobility of Oudh, who reside there when in Lucknow. Formerly Canning College occupied the north side of the square, now converted into a museum, where those interested in ornithology will find an excellent collection of Indian birds and eggs.

In the heyday of its glory the Qaisara Bagh must, despite the meretricious nature of its architecture, have presented a very splendid appearance. Entered by a gateway on the north-east, a court led to the Jilaukhana, the triumphal gate whence royal processions started. A third portal admitted to the Chini Bagh, so named from the china vases with which the garden was decorated. Yet another gateway, guarded by painted mermaids and surmounted by an upper storey wherein the principal minister had his quarters, led to the Hazrat Bagh. To the right stretched the Chandiwali Baradari, its floor of polished silver, and the Khas Mukham in close proximity to the Badshah Manzil, where the King himself resided. This last was erected by Saadat Ali Khan and absorbed into his grand new palace by Wajid Ali Shah.

The pile of buildings to left contained the Birooni, or Queen's apartments, and the harem. Known as Chaulakhi, this palace was the work of the King's barber, Azim Ullah Khan, who sold it to his royal master for the sum of four lakhs. The name perpetuates the memory of the bargain. It was here that the mother of Brujis Khan—a lad of ten, the pretended son of Wajid Ali Shah, the deposed sovereign, held her Court when the mutineers proclaimed the boy King of Oudh. The Begam's career was a romantic one, for she had begun life as a dancing girl. Her rare beauty had gained her promotion to a position in the royal harem, and her talent for intrigue raised her, for a brief spell, to the dizzy height of a reigning queen with the coveted title Badshah Begam.

A little beyond Chaulakhi and the other palaces stood a spreading mulberry tree beneath which Wajid Ali Shah,
wearing the yellow habit of a fakir, used to take his stand during the feast of Jogia Mula, when the great August fair was held in the Qaisara Bagh quadrangle. All participating in the festivities were required to dress as fakirs, otherwise they were not permitted past the Eastern Lakhi Gate, so called from the fact that it cost a lakh of rupees.

The Qaisar Pasand, or Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, lies to the left of the Western Lakhi Gate. It is now divided among several Government departments. During the reign of Nasir-ud-Din it was the Prime Minister's palace, but was confiscated by Wajid Ali Shah, who transferred it to a favourite of his harem. Its lower rooms served as a prison for the party of European captives, massacred, on September 24th, 1857, near the north-east gate of Qaisara Bagh. The spot is now marked by a grass enclosure containing a small pointed monument to the memory of Sir Mountstuart Jackson and other officers and men, two ladies « and others, European and Native, faithful servants of Government, victims of 1857 ».

MAQBARA OF SAADAT ALI KHAN

Built by his son and successor, Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, the Maqbara of Saadat Ali Khan, fourth King of Oudh (1798-1814), stands on a high grassy mound surrounded by a wide lawn and low railings. The site of the mausoleum was formerly occupied by the palace of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, who resided there when heir-apparent. On succeeding to the Masnad this prince declared that, as he had taken his father's place, it was only fitting that his father should have his. Inspired by this curious conception of fair exchange, he commanded that his palace should be demolished and the tomb of Saadat Ali Khan erected in its stead.

Large and solidly built, the Maqbara is crowned by a dome and displays a handsome floor of black and white marble arranged in chessboard squares. A marked-off space in the pavement runs north and south, showing the spot where the King lies below in an underground vault,
In the corridor behind, three rough spaces in the red brick floor mark the resting-places of three Begams, while their daughters sleep in the gallery on the east side. A dark spiral staircase descends to a narrow winding passage, where three sunken recesses represent the graves of Saadat Ali Khan and his two brothers.

The smaller mausoleum, at the eastern corner of the lawn, contains the sarcophagus of Khurshaid Zadi, mother of Ghazi-ud-Din. During the Mutiny both tombs mounted cannon, and were strongly fortified by the enemy. The firing from them was particularly effective, and greatly hampered General Havelock in his efforts to reach and relieve the Residency.

In a line with the principal Maqbara is a large flat grave, stone-flagged and enclosed by a low railing. Beneath it lie a number of officers and men of the 23rd Company of Royal Engineers, who were killed by gunpowder abandoned by the mutineers in their retreat from Lucknow on 17th March, 1858. A small white marble tablet in the centre records their names.

**MOTI MAHAL**

Situated on the Clyde Road, the Moti Mahal dates from the reign of that prolific builder, Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814), and owes its name of Pearl Palace to a fancied resemblance between the shape of its original dome and a pearl. It is entered from the south by a handsome three-storeyed gateway bearing the royal badge of Oudh—three fish in high relief—above the pointed portal. A broad walk leads up to a wide two-storeyed building, dome crowned and surmounted by a gilt pinnacle, the whole tinted a delicate shade of turquoise. The garden walls are likewise blue, and show a white marble tablet at the south-west corner inscribed: « About twenty paces from this spot, in the side wall of the Moti Mahal, was the gap through which Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock passed on their way to meet Sir Colin Campbell, when the relieved and relieving forces joined hands on the 17th September, 1857. »
Formerly the Moti Mahal formed one of a group of three royal buildings. The other two consisted of the Mubarak Manzil and the Shah Manzil. In the latter wild beast fights were held. It and Mubarak Manzil were built by Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar.

**KURSHAAD MANZIL**

Kurshaad Manzil, or the House of the Sun, is a large double-storeyed mansion marked by low towers at the corners. Begun by Saadat Ali Khan, it was completed by his son, Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, and fortified by a moat and drawbridge. After the British annexation of Oudh, in 1856, Kurshaad Manzil was known as the Mess House, from being used for that purpose by officers of the 32nd Regiment.

During the Mutiny it was the scene of some stubborn fighting, in which both Lord Wolseley—then a captain—and Lord Roberts, as a lieutenant, bore an active part. The latter planted the flag of the 2nd Panjub Infantry on the west turret in sign of capture. In constant reminder of those stirring days, a small pillar stands just inside the gate to left. It bears the following inscription: «It was here that Havelock, Outram and Sir Colin Campbell met on the 17th November, 1857.»

Eventually the house was presented by Government to La Martinière Trust, to be used as La Martinière Girl's High School.

**SECOND DAY—FORENOON**

Visit La Martinière Boys’ School, Dilkussa Palace, Wilaiti Bagh and Bibiapur Kothi.

**GENERAL CLAUDE MARTIN.**

A Brief Biography.

Of all the fortune hunters who, from time to time, have made their way to India, none, perhaps, has left so lasting a memorial of his adventurous career as the founder of La Martinière, and, certainly, none ever put his wealth to better use,
A Frenchman by birth, General Claude Martin was born at Lyons on the 5th of January, 1735. His father has been variously described as a cooper and as a silk manufacturer. Be that as it may, his son evinced no inclination to follow in the paternal footsteps. Instead, young Martin enlisted in the Army. Volunteering for service in India, he accompanied Lally, the newly-appointed Governor of Pondicherry, as a member of his bodyguard. He arrived out here in 1758 at the age of twenty-three. Lally was not a success as Governor. His extreme severity and martial discipline led to discontent among his followers. The result was that his entire bodyguard went over to the English, young Martin with the rest. Quick to perceive the possibilities of the changed situation, young Martin volunteered to raise a French corps de chasseurs for the East India Company. His offer was accepted, and he garrisoned Chandernagore. Promotion followed and he rose to the rank of captain. Fortune was not invariably kind, and he experienced many vicissitudes until his talent as a draughtsman gained him a position in Oudh. From that moment his star was in the ascendant. Establishing himself at Lucknow, his inventive genius and all-round ability soon attracted the notice of the Nawab, who lost no time in petitioning the Bengal Government to allow Captain Martin to become Superintendent of the Oudh Artillery and Arsenal.

*Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte!* Before long, Martin occupied the coveted post of confidential adviser to Asaf-ud-Daula, and was his representative in all transactions with the Company, in whose good graces he continued to the end. In time he formed a friendship with de Boigne. The compatriots turned their talents to cultivating indigo, and employed the profits to good account by making loans to the prodigal Nawab. In this and other ways, for he had « many irons in the fire », Martin acquired a considerable fortune. Wealth made little difference to his habits. He was naturally parsimonious and extremely sparing in his personal expenditure. His constant services to the Company met their
culminating reward in 1796, when he was gazetted Major-General.

Throughout his career General Martin seems to have kept two objects fixedly in view, namely, the acquisition of wealth and military rank. When he had realised both these ambitions he set to work to perpetuate the memory of his success. To this end he bequeathed his château, Constantia, and a large portion of his estate to found an educational establishment for Européans born in India. He further specified that his body was to be embalmed, and placed in a specially constructed vault under his house, which, from then on, was to be known as La Martinière.

His will was a remarkable document. Drawn up by himself, it contained forty clauses. Repentance inspired the opening statement, which humbly confessed self-interest to have been the motive underlying all his actions through life. He left sums of money to the poor of Chandernagore, Calcutta and Lucknow, and founded colleges in Lyons and Calcutta, which were also to bear his name.

If he had led a selfish life as he avowed, he did his best to make amends at the eleventh hour.

**LA MARTINIÈRE**

Visiting hours, before 10.30 a.m.

A picturesque road, branching off to the left of the highway leads to La Martinière, or Constantia, as the château was originally named, from the motto « Lahore et Constantia » which the General had adopted. Near the College, on the northern side of the Park, stands a mausoleum to General Martin’s Indian wife, while a little further east is a stone enclosure containing two graves. The smaller marks the resting-place of Captain Da Costa of the Ferozepore Sikhs. The other is sacred to Major Hodson of Hodson’s Horse, who, with his own hand, executed summary judgment on the Mogul princes, shooting them within sight of Humayon’s tomb at Delhi. The English Parliament demanded that Major Hodson should stand his trial for the act. Before notice of this reached
him, the gallant and greatly daring officer had received his death wound, while storming the Begam Kothi, now the Lucknow General Post Office. The stone above his ashes bears the simple inscription:

«Here lieth
All that could die of William Stephen Raikes Hodson, Captain and Brevet Major 1st E.B. Fusiliers and Commandant of Hodson's Horse,
son of the Venble. George Hodson, Archdeacon of Stafford.
Born March 19th, 1821. Fell in the final assault of Lucknow, March 11th, 1858.
' A little while.' 11 Cor. Ch. 1. verse 12. »

The College itself is an imposing building, of which General Martin was the architect. Time has somewhat subdued the florid exuberance of its style, in which lions rampant and large quasi-classical figures play a conspicuous part. The lions are now old and the goddesses middle-aged, and so less anxious to obtrude their charms. As for the many towers, these usually lend a feudal touch. Such, however, is not the case with the turrets of Constantia. They are obviously for ornament only.

The Château faces east. It stands on an elevated stone terrace approached by many steps, and commands a deep artificial lake, in the centre of which rises a solid fluted pillar some 125 feet high.

Big bronze cannon inscribed: «Lieutenant-Colonel Claude Martin, Lucknow, 1796», lend a martial aspect to the entrance. The interior is coloured green and is profusely decorated with stucco in an early Empire design. One room is fitted up as a chapel, and displays stained glass windows at either end. A small octagonal apartment contains a bust of the General, showing him as thin to emaciation, with a large high nose and long pointed chin; the astute face of a man who knows and understands men. At the back of the castle is a delightful and extensive garden.

Returning to the house, a candle lights the way down a dark spiral staircase to a small subterranean chamber. This holds the big bronze bell cast by General Martin in 1786, originally the hour bell of his great clock in the
northern turret. From here a short passage runs through to an octagonal room almost completely filled by a large stone tomb. The flat marble tablet reads:

« Here lies Major General Claude Martin, Born at Lyons the 5th day of January, 1735, arrived in India a common soldier, and died at Lucknow the 13th September, 1800. 'Pray for his Soul.' »

Formerly the sarcophagus was guarded by four life-sized figures of soldiers standing, with muskets reversed, at the four corners. During the Mutiny these were destroyed, the tomb opened, and the General's bones scattered. Later on they were recovered and restored to their resting-place.

General Martin did not die at La Martinière, but at Farhat Baksh Palace, while La Martinière was in course of construction. The side-wings were added after his death. They now contain the college proper, consisting of class rooms, dormitories and refectory. The Château was formally opened as a boys' school in 1840. In 1857 it was abandoned, and the scholars temporarily transferred to the Residency, until order was restored in Lucknow. During the Mutiny it was held in force by the rebels and was the scene of some very sharp fighting.

La Martinière enjoys an excellent reputation as an educational centre. The uniform of the boys consists of a blue coat, grey knicker bockers, black stockings and boots, and a khaki helmet.

DILKUSHA PALACE

At first sight the square towers of Dilkusha (Heart's Delight) convey the impression of a ruined feudal castle. This rapidly fades upon nearer approach, when it becomes evident that the turrets are merely decorative additions to a pleasant country mansion.

Designed as a hunting-box by Saadat Ali Khan, this sport-loving king laid out the surrounding country as a park, stocking it well with deer and other game. In course of time it grew to be a favourite summer palace.
with the ladies of the harem. Suddenly the Mutiny transformed it into a fort, in which character it was stormed by Sir Colin Campbell after a stubborn resistance of two hours. On November 24th, 1857, Sir Henry Havelock died here, in a soldier’s tent pitched in the garden, after uttering the memorable words: «I have, for forty years, so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear.»

On peace being restored, Dilkusha became the residence of the General Commanding the Oudh Division until the masonry began to show signs of insecurity, when it was abandoned and partially demolished.

**WILAIITI BAGH**

Near neighbour to Dilkusha Palace, the Wilaiti Bagh was a one-time famous garden, where ladies of the harem delighted to wander amid the rare exotics planted by Nasir-ud-Din Haidar. High walls screened their beauties from all eyes save those of the birds and butterflies excepting on the fourth side, where the waters of the winding Gumti cooled the flower-scented air. Now the deserted pleasance guards are nothing more remarkable than a ruined pavilion, while the graves of some soldiers mark the track of the Mutiny.

**BIBIAPUR KOTHI**

A good metalled road leads eastwards from Dilkusha to Bibiapur Kothi, a solid two-storeyed building where, in the days when Lucknow was a royal city, each newly appointed British Resident was entertained on first arrival. As soon as his stay had lasted the time prescribed by Court etiquette, the King rode out to Bibiapur Kothi in solemn procession, mounted on an elephant. The British envoy was received with due ceremonial and entered the Capital seated in the howdah beside the King, who accompanied him in state to the Residency. When Asaf-ud-Daula consulted General Claude Martin as to a suitable design for his hunting-box, Bibiapur
Kothi, neither could possibly have imagined that, one day, the carefully planned manor house would be converted into a model Government Dairy Farm for British troops stationed in Cantonments near by.

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**AFTERNOON**

Sikandar Bagh, Kadum Rasul, Shah Najaf, and Horticultural Gardens.

**SIKANDAR BAGH**

Famous as the spot, where vengeance overtook a large number of the mutineers, Sikandar Bagh was built for Sikandar Mahal Begam, a favourite wife of Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh. Now all that remains of it is a quadrangle, some 120 yards square, surrounded by deep walls 20 feet in height, arranged, on the inner side, in a series of apartments after the fashion of cloisters. These still bear traces of beautiful stucco work.

Entrance is through a tall three-storeyed gate of yellow sandstone, emblazoned with the royal fish badge, and surmounted by four kiosks, two of which are octagonal and two square. Once laid out as a delightful garden, the enclosure is now a desert waste, from the midst of which rise the forlorn remnants of a pillared baradari.

Lured by the fancied security of its high walls, more than two thousand of the enemy took up their position in Sikandar Bagh, when forced to retreat before the advancing British troops under Sir Colin Campbell. This able leader was quick to take advantage of the trap into which the enemy had unwittingly entered. Accordingly, on the 16th of November, 1857, he ordered an entire column to advance and storm the position. The fire of two guns was concentrated on a point in the walls near the south-east corner, where a breach was speedily effected. A Highlander was the first to enter, closely followed by a Sikh. Both were immediately shot dead. The fighting then assumed a desperate character, two thousand of the mutineers being killed within the square.
Their bodies were subsequently buried in deep trenches outside.

Outside the east wall a white marble slab bears the following inscription: « This tablet marks the spot where the wall of the Sikandar Bagh was breached in the assault on 16th November, 1857. » Above it is a second, which reads: « This tablet was erected by the officers of the 2nd Battalion Princess Louise's Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in 1869, to commemorate the part taken by the 93rd (Sutherland Highlanders) in storming this breach on the 16th November, 1857. »

Almost opposite to these two mural tablets a tall needle-shaped monument commemorates a hundred and sixty-five of the regiment who fell in the engagement.

KADUM RASUL

But for the oft-repeated injunction « appearances are deceptive », the casual observer would be prone to credit Kadum Rasul with belonging to a remote period of antiquity. This impression is intensified by a notice board, which prominently displays a warning to the effect that the place is in a dangerous condition and should not be entered.

As a matter of fact the isolated domed building, standing on a high artificial mound, is comparatively modern. It goes back no earlier than the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar (1827-37), when it was erected for a sacred relic, the impress of the Prophet's foot in stone brought by a pilgrim from Arabia. During the Mutiny the relic was removed and the shrine converted into a powder magazine by the rebels.

A flight of dilapidated brick steps, at the north-west corner, leads up to the top of the mound, which commands a fine view of the Gumti.

Once departed, the odour of sanctity never returned to the shrine. It has degenerated into a crumbling ruin invested with a certain suggestion of mystery, which its history in no way justifies.
Immediately west of Kadum Rasul rise the expansive white dome and glittering gold pinnacle of Shah Najaf, the beautiful mausoleum erected by Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar (1814-27). The first King of Oudh modelled his Maqbara on that of Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad, and father of the noted Imams Hussan and Hussain. The name Najaf is derived from the hill in Arabia on which Ali’s tomb stands, the tomb being one of the principal places of Moslem pilgrimage for members of the Shia sect.

Low white walls, marked by a kiosk at each corner, encircle Shah Najaf, or Najaf Ashraf as the King’s mausoleum is variously entitled. A luxuriant garden serves as introduction to a paved court enclosed by wide cloisters. Five white marble steps lead up to the sanctum. The interior presents a rich and brilliant appearance with its immense crystal chandeliers, its life-sized portraits of the King and two of his descendants, its floor of grey and white marble, and its doors of elaborately carved shisham wood. Further illumination is provided by eight giant crystal candelabra, making it appear as though the King’s last command had been «Fiat Lux».

In the centre of the hall stands a large double-storeyed tomb of silver and stained glass in a beautiful shade of emerald green. This is the cenotaph of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, who sleeps between two of his queens. Their sarcophagi are of somewhat similar design, that on the right being considerably smaller than the other, which contains his favourite wife, Mubarak Mahal. On the anniversary of the latter’s death the mausoleum is illuminated, prayers are said and alms distributed among the poor.

During the Mutiny, Shah Najaf was strongly held by the enemy. After a cannonade of three hours it was carried by the Naval Brigade, supported by the 93rd Highlanders and a company of the 90th Foot, commanded by Captain (subsequently Field Marshall Lord) Wolseley. The mausoleum is richly endowed, Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar having left a crore or rupees in perpetuity to the British Government for its upkeep, and that of certain stipulated charities.
THIRD DAY — FORENOON

Alam Bagh and Government House.

ALAM BAGH

Alam Bagh was built by Wajid Ali Shah as a country residence for one of his begams. Not a vestige remains of its past charms. None the less, it is hallowed ground by reason of the grave of Sir Henry Havelock, which lies in one corner, and of historical interest because of the important part the enclosure played during the Mutiny. At one critical period it was the only place held by the British in Oudh, and its retention was of vital moment from the point of view of prestige.

At the present time the once blooming garden, the scene of an historic siege, is a wide tract of waste land shut in by low walls. Cannon has played havoc in the neighbourhood of the gate, a square edifice adorned with the familiar fish badge of the Oudh kings. From the main entrance a broad path runs direct to a double-storeyed house, the curious feature of which is the total absence of windows. Each of the four corners is emphasized by an octagonal tower, the one to north-east having contained the semaphore, thanks to which communications passed between the British force holding Alam Bagh, and the besieged garrison of the Residency.

Hard by is the cemetery. A tall, needle-shaped monument, erected by his widow, marks where Sir Henry Havelock lies in a modest grave surrounded by a white iron railing. Latterly a second inscription has been added to the memory of his son, Sir Henry Havelock Allan, killed by the Afridis in December, 1897.

When the gallant General, hero of the first relief of the Residency, was laid to rest during the fateful evacuation of Lucknow, the spot where his remains are interred was only indicated by an «H» cut in an adjacent mango tree. Even after this lapse of time, it requires no great effort of imagination to picture the hurried funeral beneath the mango tree, its branches casting fitful
shadows over the little group gathered about the open grave. There stood Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clive—himself buried with due pomp and ceremony in Westminster Abbey some five years later—General Outram, Brigadier Inglis, Brigadier Adrian Hope, Captain Peel, R.N., and many other brave men.

Alam Bagh first became of historical importance on September 23rd, 1857. On that date General Havelock captured it from the enemy, while pressing forward to relieve the Residency. His intention being to immediately return with the women, children, sick, and wounded; he deposited the baggage, stores and most of the ammunition in the Begam's garden. Unfortunately the enemy proved too strong, and he was unable to carry out this plan.

When, in November, the superior force under Sir Colin Campbell succeeded in withdrawing the garrison from the Residency, General Outram remained behind in Alam Bagh, which, from then until the following March, was the only position held by the British in Oudh.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

All the buildings dating from the Nawabs and Kings of Oudh are distinguished by high-flown and fanciful titles. Government House is no exception to this rule. Known as Hayat Baksh, or the « Life-Giving », Kothi, it was erected in the time of Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814). Later on it was used as a powder magazine by General Claude Martin. After the British annexation of the country the bungalow was allotted to the Commissioner, Major Banks, and called Bank's House. It was here that the famous Major Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, was carried, mortally wounded, to expire in one of the lower rooms.

The place was twice stormed by the British: once under Brigadier Russell and the second time under Sir Edward Lugard.

Now known as Government House, the one time Hayat Baksh Kothi is a dignified two-storeyed building, to which a ball-room was added in 1907.
AFTERNOON

THE CHAUkopera

Two beautiful gates, emblazoned with the fish badge, mark the entrance to, and exit from, the Chauk. The southern portal is reputed the earlier. Known as Akbari Darwaza, the fact that it is named after the great Moghul Emperor renders it probable that it was put up during his reign by one of the Subahdars, predecessors of the Nawabs and Kings of Oudh.

The Chauk itself dates from Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797), and is one of the most interesting places in Lucknow, containing a bazar of quite unusual attraction and variety. Steep dark stairs lead up to small shops, where the light filters reluctantly through diminutive windows. Here the peripatetic purchaser may come upon treasure trove in the form of rare old silver, genuine early Lucknow enamel and characteristic jewellery, once the property of the prodigal kings and their much indulged queens.

Those not desirous of climbing in search of the curious and antique will find much to interest them on the level. Either side of the way is crowded with booths the entire length of the bazar. Their contents are as unexpected as they are varied. Glass and metal bangles jostle each other in glittering rivalry, their charms paling before those of the beaded, jewelled and embroidered caps and slippers for which Lucknow is famous. Hookahs, too, make seductive appeal to lovers of the fragrant weed indulged in à l'Oriental, and pyjama belts, skilfully contrived from silken threads in brilliant shades of majenta, royal blue and Ali green, dangle dazzling gold and silver tassels to catch the eye en passant. Then there are clay figures and fruit, perfumes which challenge comparison with those of « Araby the blest », characteristic jewellery and Bidri work equal to that of Damascus. In addition, there are many-hued saris, all sorts of needlecraft, brass and copper vessels, and a thousand and one things new and strange to Western eyes. Above all there is the local colour, the
indescribable atmosphere of an Indian bázár, with its sights and sounds and smells, its vivid crowds, and its something of unreality, its curious dream-like suggestion of life as a passing show.

SOME OTHER PLACES OF INTEREST

THE DARGAH OF HAZRAT ABBAS

A short distance south-west of the Chauk are two noted Dargahs, or shrines, much visited during Moharram. The better known of the two is that of Hazrat Abbas, said to contain the metal crescent from off the sacred banner of Abbas, a relative of Ali, killed in battle at Kerbela. The Alums, or banners, carried in the Moharram processions are first brought to the shrine, made to touch the hallowed relic and borne thence through the opposite door. In addition the Dargah is famed as the sanctuary, where Saadat Ali Khan made his celebrated vow to abstain from those forms of dissipation, which had marred his earlier career, a good resolution, to which the Nawab adhered, greatly to his own and his subjects’ benefit.

IRON BRIDGE

Brought from England in 1798, at considerable cost, by Saadat Ali Khan, the Iron Bridge was not erected until the reign of Amjad Ali Shah, some forty years later. By the latter’s direction it was placed in its present position instead of fronting the Residency, as had been commanded by his predecessor, King Nasir-ud-Din Haidar.

STONE BRIDGE

The original so-called Stone Bridge was of brickwork. It was started by Mansur Ali Khan (1739-53), better known by his title of Safdar Jang, whose mausoleum at Delhi is one of the sights of the Imperial city. The work begun by the second Nawab was completed by the fourth,
his grandson Asaf-ud-Daula. In 1911, the old bridge was condemned as unsafe, and a new one started in connection with the Medical College in Machhi Bhawan.

BEGAM KOTHI

Now known as the General Post Office, the Begam Kothi was built by Amjad Ali Shah, as a palace for his queen, Malka Ahad Begam. It was the scene of some fierce fighting at the final capture of Lucknow. The famous Major Hodson, of Hodson’s Horse, was mortally wounded in the courtyard, where nearly a thousand mutineers were slain.

MAUSOLEUM OF AMJAD ALI SHAH

Amjad Ali Shah lies buried in the large grey and white Maqbara facing the Delhi and London Bank. Two imposing gateways mark the approach to the mausoleum, which stands on a high stone terrace remarkable for a flight of eleven steps and a tank for ablutions. Known also as the Chhota Imambara, the square single-storeyed building has a flat roof encircled by an ornamental parapet. Lack of architectural pretension was compensated for in the interior, which was extravagantly furnished with the utmost splendour. This led the mutineers to loot the tomb, which they entirely despoiled of its treasures. A trapdoor, in the floor of the central chamber, leads down to the vault wherein the King’s body lies.

After the re-occupation of Oudh by the British, the Maqbara was used as a place of divine worship by members of the Church of England until the completion of Christ Church in 1860.
HISTORY

If it be true « there is no smoke without fire », it naturally follows that most, if not all, traditions must trace their origin to fact. Should this be the case, Lucknow may lay claim to even greater antiquity than Indraprastha, the first Delhi, founded by the five Pandava princes, and an ancestry every whit as distinguished as that of the « great white city » of the Mahabharata.

Legend asserts that Lucknow, or Lakshmanpur, as it was named in Hindu times, dates from Lakshmana, son of King Dasaratha of Ayodhya (the modern Oudh) and brother to Rama, hero of the Ramayana. Uncertainty prevails as to the epoch at which these personages existed. Brahmins ascribe them to that nebulous period spoken of indefinitely as the Silver Age, while European authorities, inspired by a passion for exact science, place them as early as 5000 B.C., and as late as 1500 B.C. From this it is hard to decide whether Orientals, or Orientalists have thrown the more light on the subject.

Not content with naming Lakshmana as founder of the city, tradition substantiates the claim by pointing to Lachman Tila, an artificial mound, within the Machhi Bhawan area, crowned by a white Muhammadan Masjid erected by Aurangzib Shah. This, tradition declares, was the fort built by Lakshmana for the defence of his capital.

Authentic history only really begins with the Muhammedan raids into India, when a colony of Shaikhs and Pathans, followers of Saiyid Salar, nephew to Mahmud of Ghazni, imposed themselves upon the Brahmins, resident in Lakshmanpur. The new-comers settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the prehistoric mound, and proceeded to construct a fort known as Likhna Kila, after the architect, a Hindu named Likhna. In due course the
place became a Moslem centre of some importance. Humayan occupied it in 1526. The Moghul prince made but a brief stay. A couple of years later it was again captured, this time by Babar Shah. When, as Emperor, Humayan was retreating before the victorious army of Sher Shah, he paid a return visit to the town, but only halted long enough to levy a sum of Rs. 10,000 and fifty horses.

Just when Lakshmanpur was converted into Lakhnau, or Lucknow is uncertain. The probabilities are that the change was effected soon after the arrival of the Shaikhs. These speedily acquired a certain degree of power in the land of their adoption, nevertheless Lucknow remained of minor importance until the advent of the Nawabs, under whom it rose to greatness.

When his administrative reforms led Akbar to divide Hindustan into twelve Subahs, he appointed a Subahdar to each. At that epoch there was no settled capital of the Subah of Oudh. The newly made governors seem to have been constantly on the move, a policy which, doubtless, had its advantages, as well as its drawbacks. Matters vastly improved in every respect for Oudh under the Emperor Muhammad, in fact, as the fortunes of the Moghuls declined, those of Lucknow rose, until a new kingdom sprang up, a green and flourishing offshoot from the decayed tree of Empire.

Saadat Khan, Burhan-ul-Mulk (1732-39).—The Oudh dynasty was founded by a Persian named Muhammad Amin, better known by his title, Saadat Khan, Burhan-ul-Mulk. His nationality explains how all subsequent Nawabs and Kings came to be members of the Shia sect, in contrast to the Moghuls, their masters, who were Sunnis.

A Saiyid by birth, hence a descendant of the Prophet, and a merchant by profession, Muhammad Amin set out as a lad from Persia, with his father and elder brother, to seek a living in Hindustan. Fortune favoured him. He acquired considerable influence at the Court of Delhi, rendering such signal services to the Emperor that
Muhammad Shah rewarded him with the title of Saadat Ali and the governorship of Oudh. The new Nawab made the most of his opportunity. Possessed of the ability and the will to rule, he speedily reduced the province to something approaching order. His business talent led him to encourage agriculture, and to put down rival powers with a firm hand in the shape of rajas, and other petty chiefs, who aspired to independent control in their particular districts.

Saadat Ali appears to have made his headquarters at Fyzabad, occasionally residing at Lucknow, where he rented two palaces in the Fort from the Shaikhs. He altered the name of the stronghold from Likhna Kila to Machhi Bhawan, or Fish House, in honour of the fish, which an imperial edict had allowed him to assume as his badge.

In spite of his administrative skill, and the wealth, which he had accumulated in Oudh, Saadat Ali came to an ignominious end. He committed suicide by taking poison after having betrayed his benefactor, the Moghul Emperor, to Nadir Shah. The Persian invader rewarded the treacherous Nawab as he deserved until, rendered desperate, Saadat Ali sought refuge from the earthly consequence of his own ill-deeds in death. He is buried at Delhi.

Mansur Ali Khan, Safdar Jang (1739-1753).—Commonly known as Safdar Jang, the second Nawab was both nephew and son-in-law to Saadat Ali. Profiting by his uncle's example, Mansur Ali sought the Imperial favour with such success, that he was promoted Vazir to the Delhi Emperor, a distinction which his predecessor had coveted, but never enjoyed. He resided chiefly at Fyzabad. His rule was marked by skill and financial ability. Dying in 1753, his remains were transported to Delhi, where they were interred in the beautiful mausoleum still known as Safdar Jang.

Shuja-ud-Daula (1753-1775).—Mansur Ali Khan was succeeded by his son Shuja-ud-Daula, famed for his good looks, physical strength and military talents. Despite
these natural advantages the third Nawab came perilously near to losing, what those before him had striven so hard to gain, another illustration of the Italian proverb: « He that would grasp too much holds nothing fast. »

Quick to recognise the advantages, that might be wrested from the ever-slackening hold of the Moghul Emperors, Shuja-ud-Daula determined on a bold course. Uniting himself with Shah Alam, he proceeded to march against the British, his avowed purpose being to espouse the cause of Mir Kasim, the ex-Governor of Bengal, who had incurred the displeasure of the Honourable East India Company, and so been removed from office. Both Nawab and Emperor were severely defeated at Patna and again at Buxar. Shuja-ud-Daula sought refuge in flight to Bareilly, while the ill-starred Shah Alam went over to the British camp.

Fortune had not wholly deserted her favourite. Whether Shuja-ud-Daula owed his salvation to his good looks, ingratiating manners, or some unknown political cause, is not stated. All that is definitely known is that, after an interview with him, Lord Clive reconsidered his decision to deprive the Nawab of Oudh. Instead he allowed Shuja-ud-Daula to resume control of the Subah, on condition that he paid war indemnity sufficient to cover the costs of the campaign. Thus, by the Vazir’s own act, was Oudh drawn within the ever-widening sphere of British influence.

For the greater portion of his rule Shuja-ud-Daula resided at Fyzabad. Towards the close, however, he spent much time in Lucknow, finding it more conveniently situated. He died at Fyzabad, where his mausoleum attracts many visitors.

Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797).—Best known to posterity as a great and indefatigable builder, Asaf-ud-Daula had not long succeeded his father, when he decided to transfer his headquarters to Lucknow. This accomplished, he devoted much of his time, and most of his revenue, to enlarging and beautifying his capital. To this end he erected bridges, mosques and public works, the best
known and finest of which is the Great Imambara, wherein he is interred. He also laid out a number of gardens and sank several wells. Under his rule Lucknow reached the greatest height of prosperity it has yet experienced. His Court was famed throughout Hindustan for its lavish splendour, practically all the sums yielded by the province flowing through the Nawab's hands for the embellishment of the metropolis.

Asaf-ud-Daula was assisted, and numerous of his projects inspired, by General Claude Martin, a French soldier of fortune in the pay of the East India Company. This official exercised the function of confidential adviser to the Nawab, although nominally entitled Chief of the Artillery and Arsenal.

British influence was strengthened and extended by a treaty, in which Asaf-ud-Daula ceded the districts of Jaunpur and Benares in exchange for the protection of his realm, and an annual payment of £312,000. He was greatly beloved by his subjects and is held in affectionate remembrance to this day.

Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814).—Asaf-ud-Daula left no legitimate heir. A claimant came forward in the person of Vazir Ali, a reputed son, who, however, was not allowed to usurp the position for more than four months. At the end of that time the British authorities set him aside in favour of Saadat Ali Khan, half-brother of the deceased Nawab.

The new ruler of Oudh made further large concessions of territory to the Honourable East India Company. In addition he proved himself a prudent and skilful administrator. His habit of strict personal economy gained him an unmerited reputation for parsimony. He was an indefatigable builder, spending large sums on extending and developing Lucknow to the east. Thanks to his exertions the city grew to very nearly its present size. In spite of this he left fourteen millions sterling in the treasury. He is buried in the big domed mausoleum to the north-east of Qaisara Bagh.

Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar (1814-1827).—Saadat Ali Khan was
followed by his son, Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, remarkable for his agreeable and polished manners and for the splendour of his Court, where art and literature received the most lively encouragement and generous support. Five years after his accession, the seventh and last Nawab was transformed into the first King of Oudh, by Lord Hastings, in recognition of services rendered the British Government. This increase of dignity was attended by a decrease of power. The resultant dynasty was one of puppet kings, who played at royal state, while allowing the reins of government to slip from their heavily jewelled hands.

Ghazi-ud-Din was not a great builder like his father, nor had he inherited the latter's financial ability and statecraft. He was a weak, but amiable monarch, whose domestic life was marred by the violent temper of the Badshah Begam, or principal wife. He resided at Farhat Baksh Palace, where he died, leaving ten crores of rupees in the treasury. Shah Najaf, the white domed mausoleum on the bank of the Gumti, is where he lies buried.

Nasir-ud-Din Haidar (1827-1837).—Suleman Jah succeeded his father on the Masnad, taking the title of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar. His reign was marked by increasing signs of degeneracy. Although married to a beautiful and accomplished princess, daughter of the Delhi Emperor, he raised a wet-nurse to the position of chief consort, with the title Malika Jamani, or Queen of the Age. Not content with this, he named her son, Kywan Jah, born three years before she entered the Palace, heir-apparent to the throne. He estranged his ministers and showered favours upon European adventurers, whose society he much affected. Finally matters reached such a crisis that his entourage caused him to be poisoned in a drink of sharbat. He is buried in the Kerbela, across the Iron Bridge, on the northern side of the Gumti.

Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-1842).—The death of Nasir-ud-Din led his stepmother, the Badshah Begam, to make a bold effort to snatch the crown for her son Minna Jan, born previous to her marriage with Ghazi-ud-Din. The
attempt was frustrated by the British Resident, who duly
ominated Muhammad Ali, uncle of the deceased sove-
reign, to the vacant Masnad.

The third King was a far more able ruler than either of
his immediate predecessors. He concentrated his ener-
gies upon reducing his realm to order, and added to the
beauties of his capital by building the Husainabad Imam-
bara, where he is buried, the Jama Masjid, Tank and
adjacent structures. In spite of the outlay entailed by
these public works, and the fact that his reign only lasted
five years, Muhammad Ali Shah left a well-filled trea-
sury.

Amjad Ali Shah (1842-1847).—Like his father, the next
King only reigned five years, but here the resemblance ceased. Amjad Ali Shah was not a public-spirited ruler. The affairs of his state were distasteful to him, and he preferred the seclusion of his Harem, where he passed most of his time. True to the traditions of his house, he was something of a builder. His principal works were his own mausoleum, opposite the Delhi and London Bank, the Iron Bridge, the metalled road to Canwpore and Hazrat Ganj. So slack and unsatisfactory was his govern-
ment, that the British authorities gave him solemn warn-
ing that he would forfeit his seat on the Masnad, unless
the internal affairs of the kingdom were better admin-
istered, and certain essential reforms introduced.

Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856).—The fifth and final King of Oudh ascended a throne already tottering to its fall. He succeeded his father in preference to his elder bro-
ther, who was disqualified as feeble-minded. Pleasure-
loving, indolent and self-indulgent, Wajid Ali was not a
man to save the situation. Under him matters went from
bad to worse. Utterly devoid of financial acumen, he
lavished immense sums upon unworthy objets, without
the least regard for consequences. The result was that
he plunged his realm heavily in debt. He built the im-
mense Qaisara Bagh Palace, only a fraction of which
still survives, at a cost of eighty lakhs. His interests
were centred in the Harem, whose three hundred and
seventy members each enjoyed a separate suite of apartments and her own attendants. Affairs of state were left in the hands of ministers. The result was that a condition of anarchy prevailed throughout the realm. While the roi fainéant idled existence away in the Harem, his kingdom became the headquarters of the dacoits, an organised society of bandits, who made nightly raids into adjacent territories, retreating into Oudh before sunrise. Even in Lucknow itself life and property were far from secure. Persons of consequence went about armed to the teeth, escorted by attendants, similarly equipped. This scandal continued unchecked until 1856, when Wajid Ali Shah was deposed and sent to Calcutta, where he resided on a pension until his death, in 1887, at the age of sixty-seven.

Whether, or no he would ever have been reinstated is uncertain, as any hopes in this direction were finally quashed by the rising in the following year. It is only fair to say that if the ex-King had been guilty of gross extravagance in money matters, and extreme weakness in all else, these were the extent of his faults. He was by no means wicked, and was altogether innocent of the terrible events, which followed his deposition, culminating in the Mutiny of 1857.

THE MUTINY

Selfish, steeped in extravagant pleasures, and indifferent ruler though he was, Lucknow took the King's departure far more seriously to heart than was at first supposed. Sentiment may have exercised a certain amount of influence, still there is no doubt but that self-interest was at the root of the ensuing trouble. This is easily understood. The lavish splendour, and wasteful magnificence of the Court had caused money to circulate freely in the Capital. The country districts had been impoverished, it is true, and the peasantry reduced to a state of abject want in many places. None of this had been felt in town, however, where trade had flourished while agriculture languished. Nobles, bankers and merchants
had all made hay while the sun of royalty shone. When this was suddenly eclipsed their fortunes suffered a like reverse. Nor were these the only malcontents. There was the Army to be reckoned with, some sixty thousand strong, suddenly disbanded and consequently deprived of work and pay. Money ceased to flow through the city. The sale of opium was prohibited. In a word, order replaced disorder, with the result that many, who had profited by the vices of the old régime, found themselves practically ruined by the virtues of the new.

The work of inaugurating the proposed administration proceeded for a year under General Outram, the last Resident, and M. C. C. Jackson, I.C.S. On the 20th March, 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed Chief Commissioner of Oudh. At that date the garrison of Lucknow comprised the 32nd British Regiment, a weak Company of European Artillery, the 7th Indian Cavalry, and the 13th, 48th and 71st Indian Infantry. In addition to these were two regiments of irregular local infantry, quartered near the city, one regiment of military police, one of Oudh irregular cavalry and two battalions of Indian artillery. Altogether Lucknow contained about ten Indian soldiers to one European.

Signs of discontent were apparent on all sides. Everyone was more, or less acutely conscious of an undercurrent of growing unrest. The first outbreak occurred in April, 1857. It originated in a seemingly trivial act. Doctor Wells, of the 48th Indian Infantry Regiment, then stationed at Mariaon Cantonment, chanced to smell some medicine intended for a sepoy. This act was taken as an insult to caste, it being alleged that the doctor had put the bottle to his lips and tasted its contents. A few nights later, his bungalow was burnt down and open disaffection was rife in the regiment. This event, coupled with alarming reports from Meerut, Cawnpore and Delhi, led Sir Henry Lawrence to prepare for emergencies. Accordingly he collected stores and set about fortifying Machhi Bhawan and the Residency.

On April 30th the 7th Oudh Irregulars refused to bite their cartridges on the plea that they were greased with
cows' fat. Sir Henry Lawrence ordered them to be deprived of their arms, after which events moved rapidly. One of the most curious features of the times was the implicit confidence, that European officers continued to repose in their men, despite abundant warnings to the contrary. Evidence was not lacking that secret agents were at work among the sepoys, sowing the seeds of revolt and tempting them with specious promises.

Bad news travels fast. Information of the rising in Meerut reached Lucknow on May 12th. Women, children and non-combatants were ordered into the Residency. The women and children huddled together in the dark dank Taikhana, where they passed many weary weeks, their suffering still further enhanced by the swarming flies, which bred in the stifling underground atmosphere.

The siege of the Residency began on July 1st. Matters had been precipitated by the ill-starred battle of Chinhut, a village on the Fyzabad Road some nine miles distant from Lucknow. Hearing that the mutineers had reached this point, Sir Henry Lawrence marched out to meet and disperse them, but was obliged to retire owing to the desertion of the artillery, which went over to the enemy, taking their guns with them. This reverse led Sir Henry to abandon Machhi Bhawan, and concentrate his entire force upon holding the Residency, which, with the surrounding buildings, constituted an entrenched area about sixty acres in extent. The defences consisted of hastily constructed parapets, ditches, dug-outs, stockades, and batteries.

On the second day of the siege Sir Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded by a shell from an eight-inch Howitzer, captured by the enemy at the battle of Chinhut a couple of days before. The shell burst in an upper room of the Residency. He was carried to Doctor Fayrer's House, where he lingered in great agony until the morning of May 4th.

Brigadier Inglis at once assumed the military command, and Major Banks, the civil. The latter was shot on the 21st, leaving Brigadier Inglis to control the entire situation.
On September 22nd a relieving force, under Generals Havelock and Outram, stormed the enemy's position at Alam Bagh, a walled garden residence on the Cawnpore Road. This captured, the relieving force proceeded to fight their way through to the Residency, reaching it on September 26th. General Havelock had intended to withdraw the sick, wounded, women and children, and retire with them to a place of safety. This was found impossible owing to the superior strength of the enemy. All that the combined forces could effect was to push the besieging army back to beyond the Chhattar Manzil Palaces, and so extend the British lines. This accomplished, the siege again closed round the Residency with renewed vigour.

The horrors of famine now came to add to the sufferings of the garrison. General Havelock's troops had only brought provisions for three days, expecting to have immediately fallen back upon Alam Bagh, where they had deposited their stores. Rations were reduced to a minimum. Every day smallpox, dysentery, and other forms of disease claimed an increasing number of victims. Little wonder that the second relief, under Sir Colin Campbell, only found a few hundred survivors of the original garrison, over two-thirds having perished.

In absolute silence and secrecy the Residency was abandoned at midnight on November 22nd, 1857. A strange and solemn procession filed noiselessly through the Baillie Guard Gate, passed the Farhat Baksh and Chhattar Manzil Palaces, and along the banks of the Gumti as far as Moti Mahal. From there the tragic little force followed the road to where Shah Najaf gleamed whitely through the gloom, and thence on to the protecting walls of Sikandar Bagh. All the time the enemy's guns kept up a desultory fire on the misleading lights left burning in the deserted Residency.

From Sikandar Bagh Sir Colin Campbell escorted non-combatants to Cawnpore. Meanwhile the troops marched into Alam Bagh, which they proceeded to hold, until the final relief and capture of the city in the following spring. Unfortunately the evacuation of the Residency
was saddened by the death of General Havelock, that
gallant officer dying en route two days after. He was
buried in Alam Bagh, where General Outram remained,
with a force of three thousand five hundred men, until
Sir Colin Campbell's return in March, 1858. During the
entire winter, the walled enclosure on the Cawnpore Road
was the only British possession in Oudh, hence its impor-
tance from the vulnerable point of national prestige.

The rebels made good use of the intervening months.
Secure in the knowledge that General Outram's force
was penned up in Alam Bagh, they proceeded to strongly
fortify the Capital, and environs for a circuit of twenty
miles. Their line of external defences stretched from
the Gumti to the Canal, and they entrenched all along
between Moti Mahal and Kurshaad Manzil to the Imam-
bara. Every street was closed by stockades and para-
pets, and the Qaisara Bagh was converted into the citadel,
where the rebel Begam held her court.

On March 2nd, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell marched
against Lucknow. Dilkusha was his primary objective.
This stormed he trained his guns against La Martinière.
Reinforcements arrived on the 5th under General Franks,
half of whose six thousand men were Gurkhas sent by
the Maharaja of Nepal. Timely and valuable assistance
was also rendered by the Naval Brigade under Captain
Peel, R.N., whose big guns from the « Shannon » did
much execution.

As the main body advanced from the south-east, Gene-
ral Outram's force made a sortie from Alam Bagh, attack-
ing from the direction of Fyzabad. Fierce fighting was
maintained from the 9th to the 15th. On the latter date
Lucknow ceased to exist as a rebel city, and reverted to
its loyal allegiance to the British Raj.

Since those stormy days the history of the Capital of
Oudh has been one of progress and peaceful development.
It continued to be the headquarters of a separate Com-
mision until 1877, when the office of Chief Commissioner
of Oudh was merged in that of Lieutenant-Governor of
the North-West Provinces, whose residence is at Luck-
now.
Although no longer illumined by the «fierce light which beats upon a throne», the one time royal city basks in the steady sunshine of intellectual radiance. It has become a great educational centre, the modern home of advanced Mussulman culture in India. Still, for many, «The past doth win a glory from its being far». Such as these love best to linger in the neighbourhood of Lakshman Tila, with its prehistoric associations, or stand awhile beside the tomb of Shaikh Mina, or wander through the quiet grounds of the Residency, and pause by the grave of Sir Henry Lawrence in that garden of sleep, which no bursting shell can disturb with its worldly message of discord.
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